*The University of British Columbia*

*School of Public Policy and Global Affairs*

**GPP 591D**

**Global China and the Crisis of World Order**

Online

Summer Session 2020

Tuesdays and Thursdays, May 19 to June 25

(**Version 3: 10/06/20**)

“What China sees today is not an international order at all, least of all *the* international order, but merely the product of the struggle of the Great Powers of half a century ago.” Wang Gungwu (2008)

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Contact Hours: by appointment

**Subject:**

We are living at a turbulent moment as the biggest global crisis since the second world affects countries and people everywhere. The pandemic is but one element in a season of massive disruptions destabilizing great power interactions, democratic institutions, international trade and production, and globalization.

A world order can be defined as the combination of the balance of power plus the institutions, rules and norms that shape acceptable international behaviour. Our seminar will focus on three of the forces that are transforming the current world order. The first is a shifting balance of power and a deepening strategic competition between the United States and China that is sliding towards Cold War 2.0. The second is the COVID-19 pandemic that is changing behaviour and practices in ways that could scarcely have been imagined much less predicted six months ago. And the third is climate change, the existential threat to human civilization. .

Our focus is contemporary China. China will not rule the world. But the world is being reshaped by its fourth rise, its integration into regional production networks and global value chains, its efforts to move upward in the international division of labour, its outward investment and infrastructure projects, the growing presence and influence of overseas Chinese, its diplomatic and military assets, its deepening role in international institutions, and the persistence and dynamics of its particular form of authoritarian capitalism.  Decisions of Chinese officials, citizens, business people, and consumers have impact around the world.

Just what is *global* China? What are its traditions of relations with the outer world? What do its current leaders want to achieve? Is it a responsible stakeholder in the international system? Can we look to it to provide leadership and support, supplement, revise, or destroy the institutions, norms, practices and values of what some have labelled the *liberal* international order? Is it a defender of globalization in a suddenly de-globalizing world?

**Format:**

An interactive online graduate seminar. It is expected that students, like the instructor, will bring the full measure of their intellect, skills and curiosity (plus a sense of humour) to the class.

We will be using Zoom for our group sessions and private discussions and Canvas for storing the syllabus, readings, viewings, and my Power Point slides as well as e-messages. I can be reached best by email or on an urgent matter at my home number.

Our synchronous meetings on Zoom in the Tuesday and Thursday sessions will normally run about 2 hours and 15 minutes. The final 45 minutes can be used for students to interact with each other and with me privately. I’ll normally log in ten minutes before class begins if you’d like to speak with me then. We can also arrange private discussions by prior arrangement.

You will be given a password to connect with the Zoom sessions. Please do not share it with anyone not registered in the course.

It is expected that students will attend all of the sessions (if you can’t, let me know in advance) and be visible on screen as much as possible. Recording any part of the sessions is not permitted without expressed agreement in advance. My PPT’s may be shared as you wish.

I will be assisted by two class assistants who will help with preparation and uploading of materials and the technical operations for our online sessions.

The syllabus will change as we proceed with our discussions and new materials come available. If you spot something you think would be especially interesting for the class let me know.

Note that the last three sessions are left open. We’ll collectively decide on how to use them as the seminar proceeds. Options include discussions of the policy briefs, a new topic such as the Canadian dimension of the crisis and relations with China, or something we’d like to into deeper.

**Assignments and Assessment:**

*1. Lead presenter in one session: 25%*

-5-7 minute opening response to one of the focus questions for the session or one of your own design in consultation with me. This can be done on a solo basis or part of a two-some potentially taking opposing points of view. At the end of the session you will be asked to identify the two or three most important points that came up in the discussion and share them with the full group.

*2. Contribution to class discussions and learning: 25%*

-indicate an engaged familiarity with the assigned readings and viewings

-interact in a respectful but lively way with the views of others in the seminar

*Bonus: 10%*

-Nominate, contact, brief and lead a discussion with an outside expert who we’d bring into the class. I can assist.

*3. Final Policy Brief (due Thursday, July 2nd): 50%*

-MPPGA students are encouraged to prepare a Policy Brief on a topic of their own design in discussion with me or from the list below. Maximum length 1000 words. To include a statement of who you are (organization, rank), the general issue and its importance, the specific policy problem being addressed, the target recipient, the analysis, the prescription, and an assessment of feasibility. It should be accompanied by a Policy Note, maximum 500 words that indicates the thinking behind the key elements of the Brief, e.g. why you selected the policy context that you did, why you chose the policy actors that you did, where you found the information on which to base the analysis, and how comfortable you feel with your recommendations including the principal arguments or forces that could derail it.

-another option is an analytic essay of about 1500 words on a topic of their choosing and as approved by me.

**Sample Subjects**:

* is China best understood as a revisionist power? A rogue state? Should a new international order be built around it or against it?
* is it time to consider selective or comprehensive de-coupling from China in areas including trade, technology, culture and education?
* how to prepare for the next pandemic: can China ever be trusted?
* impact of the pandemic on the climate change agenda: setback or springboard?
* requiring China to pay reparations for the damage inflicted by the pandemic?
* should there be an independent inquiry into the origins of COVID-19 and how to make it most effective?
* should the W.H.O. be replaced or reformed and can China be expected to be a constructive part of the process?
* can the world look to either China or the United States for leadership on global issues?
* how will the virus affect the balance of power between the United States and China?
* will a more powerful China dominate international institutions, what kind of leader?
* is China’s wolf warrior information campaign a tactical defence against outside attacks or the harbinger of a whole new approach by China for soft power projection and relations with the outside world?
* has Beijing’s information campaign been counterproductive from the perspective of China’s soft power standing in the rest of the world?
* should COVID affect the decisions of countries considering Huawei as a major provider in the rollout of their 5G networks?

**Academic Integrity:**

The School of Public Policy and Global Affairs expects all students to conform to the highest standards of academic integrity. It takes plagiarism very seriously, whether direct, indirect, or self-plagiarism. Direct plagiarism is intentionally and completely lifting the words, equations, charts, graphs or artistic material of another author or authors. Indirect plagiarism is failing to cite completely or accurately, and/or copying themes, ideas, or sources the student has not read from another author or authors. Self-plagiarism is recycling papers, documents, equations, and so forth from a document previously submitted by the student without quotation, citation, or attribution of the previous work.

UBC provides resources to support student learning and to maintain healthy lifestyles but recognizes that sometimes crises arise and so there are additional resources to access including those for survivors of sexual violence. UBC values respect for the person and ideas of all members of the academic community. Harassment and discrimination are not tolerated nor is suppression of academic freedom. UBC provides appropriate accommodation for students with disabilities and for religious and cultural observances. UBC values academic honesty and students are expected to acknowledge the ideas generated by others and to uphold the highest academic standards in all of their actions. Details of the policies and how to access support are available here (https://senate.ubc.ca/policiesresources-support-student-success )

**Schedule, Materials, and Focus Questions**

**May 19 Introductions and Setting**

In advance of our first meeting you may wish to sample the following:

Niall Ferguson, “China: Triumph and Turmoil,” Part 3, 47 minutes, <http://www.dailymotion.com/video/xs684o>

Philip Pan “The Land that Failed to Fail,” *New York Times*, infographic Part 1, 18 November 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/11/18/world/asia/china-rules.html> and “The Road to Confrontation,” Part 2, 25 November 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/11/25/world/asia/china-us-confrontation.html>

“See How Much Do You Know About China?,” Council on Foreign Relations Quiz, 25 September 2018, <https://www.cfr.org/quiz/see-how-much-you-know-about-china?utm_medium=email&utm_source=dailybrief&utm_content=092618&sp_mid=57435990&sp_rid=YnJpYW4uam9iQHViYy5jYQS2>

Focus Questions: how much do you know about China; why is China important; is it part of your future?

**May 21 The Idea of Global China**

David Shambaugh, “Understanding China’s Global Impact,” Ch. 1 in his *China Goes Global: The Partial Power* (Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 1-12. (PDF on Canvas)

McKinsey and Company “China and the World: Inside a Changing Economic Relationship,” July 2019, <https://www.mckinsey.com/featured-insights/china/china-and-the-world-inside-the-dynamics-of-a-changing-relationship>. Pay special attention to the Introductory video and text and the report itself, especially the Executive Summary and pp. 25-43.

“The Chinese Century is Well Underway,” *The Economist*, 27 October 2018, <https://www.economist.com/graphic-detail/2018/10/27/the-chinese-century-is-well-under-way>

Bethany Allen-Ebrahim, “A China –Centric 21st Century,” series of post in Axios, 5 February 2020, <https://www.axios.com/china-xi-jinping-world-power-ab889b35-b5de-4e9b-b6a4-95e1c0110773.html>

Brookings Institution, “Global China: Assessing China’s Growing Role in the World,” 4 minute video, 30 September 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_PhUwSHMZbU&feature=youtu.be&utm_campaign=Foreign+Policy&utm_source=hs_email&utm_medium=email&utm_content=83802403>

Focus Questions: Where is China and what kind of map or device do we need to understand its place in the world; what are the five most important ways in which China has become a global presence; what are the five big areas in which it is not a global power, player or influence?

**May 26 Power Shift and Geo-Politics**

Joseph Nye, “On Global Power Shifts,” TED Talk, July 2010, 18 minutes, <http://www.ted.com/talks/joseph_nye_on_global_power_shifts.html>.

Farid Zakaria, “The New China Scare: Why American Should Panic About Its Latest Challenger,” *Foreign Affairs*, 6 December 2019, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2019-12-06/new-china-scare>

Michael Beckley, “The United States Should Fear a Faltering China: Beijing Assertiveness Betrays Its Desperation,” *Foreign Affairs*, 28 October 2019, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2018-09-21/stop-obsessing-about-china

Kishore Mahbubani, “10 ‘Unthinkable Questions’ for the US on Relations with China,” *Straits Times*, 26 April 2020, <https://www.straitstimes.com/opinion/10-unthinkable-questions-for-the-us-on-relations-with-china>

President of the United States, *United States Strategic Approach to The People’s Republic of China*, 20 May 2020, 16pp, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/U.S.-Strategic-Approach-to-The-Peoples-Republic-of-China-Report-5.20.20.pdf>

Graham Allison, “Is War Between the US and China Inevitable?”, TED Talk, September 2018, 18 minutes <https://www.ted.com/talks/graham_allison_is_war_between_china_and_the_us_inevitable?language=en>

And one of the following:

Joseph Nye, “No, the Coronavirus Will Not Change the Global Order,” *Foreign Policy*, 16 April 2020, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/04/16/coronavirus-pandemic-china-united-states-power-competition/?utm_source=PostUp&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=20946&utm_term=Editors%20Picks%20OC&>

James Traub, “The Future is Asian—but Not Chinese,” *Foreign Policy* 27 April 2020, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/04/27/the-future-is-asian-but-not-chinese-coronavirus-pandemic-china-korea-singapore-taiwan/>

Robert Kaplan, “America Must Prepare for the Coming Chinese Empire,” *The National Interest*, 17 June 2019, <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/america-must-prepare-coming-chinese-empire-63102>

David Leonhardt, “What Americans Don’t Understand About China’s Power,” *New York Times*, 16 January 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/16/opinion/sunday/china-economy-trade.html>

Parag Khanna, “Welcome to the Asian Century,” *Globe and Mail*, 2 February 2020, <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/article-welcome-to-the-asian-century/>

The Economist, “Is China Winning,?” 16 April 2020, <https://www.economist.com/leaders/2020/04/16/is-china-winning>

Optional on video:

Centre for Independent Studies (Australia), Mahbubani vs. Mearsheimer, 11 May 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZnkC7GXmLdo>, 58’33”

Center for Strategic and International Studies, “China Power,” short video plus website, <https://chinapower.csis.org/about-us/>

Focus Questions: Is the balance of power *really* shifting; what are the essential ingredients of national power in the 21st century; is Sino-American rivalry and fear of China leading to inevitable conflict?

**May 28 China and World Order**

Wang Gungwu, “China in the International Order: Some Historical Perspectives,” *China and the New International Order* (Routledge 2008), pp. 21-31.  (PDF on Canvas)

Xi Jinping, Davos Speech, World Economic Forum, 17 January 2017, <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2017/01/full-text-of-xi-jinping-keynote-at-the-world-economic-forum>

Xue Li and Cheng Zhangxi, “What Might a Chinese World Order Look Like?,” *The Diplomat*, 13 April 2018, <https://thediplomat.com/2018/04/what-might-a-chinese-world-order-look-like/>

Nadege Roland, “The China Model,” Testimony Before the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, 27 April 2020, <https://www.nbr.org/publication/a-china-model-beijings-promotion-of-alternative-global-norms-and-standards/>. Based on her “China’s Vision for a New World Order,” NBR Special Report, #83, January 2020, <https://www.mail.ubc.ca/owa/#path=/attachmentlightbox>

Kevin Rudd, “How Xi Jinping Views the World,” *Foreign Affairs*, 10 May 2018. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2018-05-10/how-xi-jinping-views-world>

Michael Mazarr et. al., typescript, summary of China and the International Order, 2 pp.. (The full report is available at <https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR2423.html> , pp. 152).

Focus Questions: what elements of Imperial China’s approaches to foreign relations still animate 21st century Chinese thinking and action; are China’s leaders intending to overthrow the liberal world order, revise it, or lead it; is China generally a responsible international player?

**June 2 COVID-19, I. The Chinese Experience**

Mathieu Duchatel, Francois Godement and Vivian Zhu, “Fighting COVID-19: East Asian Responses to the Pandemic,” executive summary plus report, April 2020, esp. “China” pp. 42-59, <https://www.institutmontaigne.org/ressources/pdfs/publications/fighting-covid-19-east-asian-responses.pdf>

Li Binqin and Lu Bei, “How China Made Its COVID-19 Lockdown Work,” *East Asia Forum*, 7 April 2020, <https://www.eastasiaforum.org/2020/04/07/how-china-made-its-covid-19-lockdown-work/?utm_source=newsletter&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=newsletter2020-04-12>

Interview with Zhong Nanshan, *South China Morning Post*, 11 February 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LK1Pz8FmryM>

“The Watcher [R.L. Kuhn]: How Does Containing COVID-19 Express the Chinese System,” China Global Television Network, 4’21”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MkGP6bmyrGQ> .

Diana Fu, “China Has a Playbook for Managing Coronavirus Chaos,” *Foreign Policy*, 5 May 2020, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/05/05/china-coronavirus-chaos-playbook-stability/?utm_source=PostUp&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=21309&utm_term=Flashpoints%20OC&>

[[If you are curious about a ground-level view, take a look at or listen to Peter Hessler, “Life on Lockdown in China: Forty-five days of Avoiding the Coronavirus,” *The New Yorker*, 23 March 2020, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2020/03/30/life-on-lockdown-in-china> or a summary and analysis of Fang Fang’s daily diary by Marco Fumian, <https://u.osu.edu/mclc/2020/04/22/fang-fangs-wuhan-diary-essay/> ]]

Focus Questions: how has China managed its COVID-19 epidemic and what does this tell us about its political system and society?

**June 4 COVID-19, II: International Actions and Reactions**

Jim O’Neill, “Blaming China is a Dangerous Distraction,” *Project Syndicate*, 14 April 2020, <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/trump-blaming-china-dangerous-distraction-by-jim-o-neill-2020-04?utm_source=Project+Syndicate+Newsletter&utm_campaign=6ea3a6f0d6-sunday_newsletter_19_04_2020&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_73bad5b7d8-6ea3a6f0d6-105815289&mc_cid=6ea3a6f0d6&mc_eid=52f79d2d07>

Animated video from China on US coronavirus response, ca. 30 April 2020, 1’34”,

<https://www.abc.net.au/news/2020-05-01/china-state-media-propaganda-video-mock-us-coronavirus/12204836?utm_source=abc_news&utm_medium=content_shared&utm_content=mail&utm_campaign=abc_news>

Filippa Lentzos, “Natural spillover or research lab leak?”, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 1 May 2020, <https://thebulletin.org/2020/05/natural-spillover-or-research-lab-leak-why-a-credible-investigation-in-needed-to-determine-the-origin-of-the-coronavirus-pandemic/?utm_source=Newsletter&utm_medium=Email&utm_campaign=Newsletter05042020&utm_content=DisruptiveTechnologies_NaturalSpillover_05012020>

Doug Bandow, “Making China Pay Would Cost Americans Dearly,” *Foreign Policy*, 5 May 2020, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/05/05/trump-pandemic-making-china-pay/?utm_source=PostUp&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=21309&utm_term=Flashpoints%20OC>

AP, “China Supports WHO-led Review of Global Coronavirus Pandemic Response,” *Straits Times*, 8 May 2020, <https://www.straitstimes.com/asia/east-asia/china-supports-who-led-review-of-global-pandemic-response>

Ryan Hass, “Clouded Thinking in Washington and Beijing on COVID-19 Crisis,” Brookings, 4 May 2020, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2020/05/04/clouded-thinking-in-washington-and-beijing-on-covid-19-crisis/>

Kathrin Hille, “Wolf Warrior Diplomats Reveal China’s Ambition,” *Financial Times*, 11 May 2020, <https://www.ft.com/content/7d500105-4349-4721-b4f5-179de6a58f08>

Bilahari Kausikan, “Zeal and China’s ‘Wolf Warrior’ Diplomacy, *Global Brief*, 1 June 2020, <https://globalbrief.ca/2020/06/zeal-and-chinas-wolf-warrior-diplomacy/>

Focus Questions: how has China tried to tell and sell its COVID story internationally; what can we learn about its international capabilities and intentions from the pandemic; should an international inquiry into the origins of pandemic be conducted and how?

**June 9 COVID-19, III: The W.H.O. and Beyond?**

The World Health Organization, official website, <https://www.who.int/>

Hinnerk Feldwisch-Drentrup, “China Coronavirus Accomplice,” *Foreign Policy*, 2 April 2020, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/04/02/china-coronavirus-who-health-soft-power/?utm_source=PostUp&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=20952&utm_term=China%20Brief%20OC&>

AP, “China delayed releasing coronavirus info, frustrating WHO”, 2 June 2020, <https://apnews.com/3c061794970661042b18d5aeaaed9fae?utm_source=Twitter&utm_campaign=SocialFlow&utm_medium=AP>

David Fidler, “The Dangerous COVID-19 Quest for WHO Reform,” *East Asia Forum*, 10 May 2020, <https://www.eastasiaforum.org/?p=252985?utm_source=newsletter&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=newsletter2020-05-10>

DW, “What Influence Does China Have Over the WHO?”, 17 April 2020, <https://www.dw.com/en/what-influence-does-china-have-over-the-who/a-53161220>

“How Will China Shape Global Governance?”, A China File Conversation, 9 May 2020, <https://www.chinafile.com/conversation/how-will-china-shape-global-governance>

Kevin Rudd, “The World After COVID-19: America, China and Saving the WHO,” *Economist,* 15 April 2020, <https://www.economist.com/by-invitation/2020/04/15/kevin-rudd-on-america-china-and-saving-the-who?utm_campaign=the-economist-today&utm_medium=newsletter&utm_source=salesforce-marketing-cloud&utm_term=2020-04-15&utm_content=article-link-2>

Kevin Rudd, “The Coming Post-COVID Anarchy,” *Foreign Affairs*, 6 May 2020, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2020-05-06/coming-post-covid-anarchy>

Fu Ying, “Why China and America Must Cooperate to Defeat COVID-19,” *The Economist*, 29 April 2020, <https://www.economist.com/by-invitation/2020/04/29/fu-ying-on-why-china-and-america-must-co-operate-to-defeat-covid-19>

Focus Questions: what are long-term consequences of the pandemic; what does it tell us about the kinds of multilateral institutions that are needed to deal with global issues like the pandemic; what can we expect from China in these institutions?

**June 11 Climate Change, I: China’s Domestic Dynamics**

David Sandalow, *Guide to Chinese Climate Policy 2019*, Columbia University, Center on Global Energy Policy, September 2019, <https://energypolicy.columbia.edu/sites/default/files/file-uploads/Guide%20to%20Chinese%20Climate%20Policy_2019.pdf> , especially the Preface, Introduction, Chs. 2, 3 and 4, pp. 26-42, and the Conclusion, pp. 146-56.

Angel Hsu, “How China is (and isn’t) Fighting Pollution and Climate Change,” TED Talk, 19 September 2018, 12’18”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VlHiEN1zTKI>

Paula DiPemma, “US Left Behind as China Takes Lead, in Carbon Pricing,” *Asia Global Online*, 6 September 2018, <https://www.asiaglobalonline.hku.hk/china-carbon-pricing-cap-and-trade/?print=pdf>

Focus Questions: what are the domestic factors shaping China’s response to environmental and climate change challenges; what have been its policy reactions and how effective have they been; can it be characterized as a model?

**June 16 Climate Change, II: International Leadership**

“The History of Climate Change in 83 Seconds,” 2012 video, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B11kASPfYxY>

Yves Tiberghien, “Chinese Global Climate Change Leadership and Its Impact,” in Alessia Amighini, ed., *China: Champion of (Which) Globalization*, ISPI 2018, pp.101-120. (PDF on Canvas).

“China is Positioned to Lead on Climate Change as the US Rolls Back it Policies,” *The Conversation*, 12 September 2019, <https://theconversation.com/china-is-positioned-to-lead-on-climate-change-as-the-us-rolls-back-its-policies-114897>

Leslie Hook, “Climate Change: How China Moved from Leader to Laggard,” *Financial Times*, 24 November 2019, <https://www.ft.com/content/be1250c6-0c4d-11ea-b2d6-9bf4d1957a67>

Kevin Rudd, “China can show the world what a green economic recovery looks like,” *South China Morning Post,* 18 May 2020, <https://kevinrudd.com/2020/05/18/scmp-china-can-lead-green-recovery/>

Focus Questions: what can we expect from China in the wake of pandemic in providing leadership (or a model) in addressing climate change?

**June 18 COVID-19’s Impact on the Climate Change Agenda (Guest: Michael Small)**

James Temple, “The Unholy Alliance of COVID-19, Nationalism and Climate Change,” *MIT Technology Review,* 10 April 2020, <https://www.technologyreview.com/2020/04/10/998969/the-unholy-alliance-of-covid-19-nationalism-and-climate-change/>

Fred Pearce, “Virus Aftermath: Optimism or Pessimism About its Effect on Climate Change, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 17 April 2020, <https://thebulletin.org/2020/04/virus-aftermath-optimism-or-pessimism-about-its-effect-on-climate-change/?utm_source=Newsletter&utm_medium=Email&utm_campaign=MondayNewsletter04202020&utm_content=ClimateChange_VirusAftermath_04172020>

Mark Cliffe, “A Sustainable Recovery Must be More than Green,” *Project Syndicate*, 10 June 2020, <https://www.project-syndicate.org/onpoint/how-to-make-the-covid19-recovery-sustainable-by-mark-cliffe-2020-06?utm_source=Project+Syndicate+Newsletter&utm_campaign=1507399f6e-op_newsletter_2020_06_10&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_73bad5b7d8-1507399f6e-105815289&mc_cid=1507399f6e&mc_eid=52f79d2d07>

Monica Gattinger and Brenda Frank, “Will COVID-19 Unite or Divide Canada Over Its Energy and Climate Future?,” *Policy Options*, 1 May 2020, <https://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/may-2020/will-covid-19-unite-or-divide-canada-over-its-energy-and-climate-future/>

Focus Questions: will COVID-19 boost or diminish the will and capabilities of states and societies, including China, to respond to the existential challenge of climate change; can there be progress without both the US and China engaged; what should be Canada’s agenda?

**June 23 Individual Tutorials**

**June 25 Whither China and Global Order + Seminar Assessment**

Assignment: select one of the following writers or choose one of your own, identify the major argument about the post-COVID world order, and outline your own assessment in 3 minutes in light of our discussions and your own reflections over the past 12 sessions.

Ian Bremmer, for example, “Will China Lead in a Post-Pandemic World?,” GZero, 9 April 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8zDFCm0rLxw>, 13 minutes

Nicholas Eberstadt, “The ‘New Normal’: Thoughts about the Shape of Things to Come in the Post-Pandemic World, *National Bureau of Asian Research* 18 April 2020. <https://www.nbr.org/publication/the-new-normal-thoughts-about-the-shape-of-things-to-come-in-the-post-pandemic-world/>

Fu Ying, “Why China and America Must Cooperate to Defeat COVID-19,” *The Economist*, 29 April 2020, <https://www.economist.com/by-invitation/2020/04/29/fu-ying-on-why-china-and-america-must-co-operate-to-defeat-covid-19>

Julian Giwurtz, “The Chinese Reassessment of Interdependence,” *China Leadership Monitor*, 1 June 2020, <https://www.prcleader.org/gewirtz>

Michael Hirsh, “Welcome Back to Kissinger’s World,” *Foreign Policy*, 7 June 2020, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/06/07/kissinger-review-gewen-realism-liberal-internationalism/>

Liu Ming, “Xi Jinping’s Vision of a Community with a Shared Future for Mankind: A Revised International Order?”, National Bureau of Asian Research Special Report, 2 June 2020, pp. 13-23. <https://www.nbr.org/publication/xi-jinpings-vision-of-a-community-with-a-shared-future-for-humankind-a-revised-international-order/>

Kishore Mahbubani, “The Dawn of the Asian Century,” *The Economist*, 20 April 2020, <https://www.economist.com/by-invitation/2020/04/20/kishore-mahbubani-on-the-dawn-of-the-asian-century>

Kevin Rudd, “The Coming Post-COVID Anarchy,” *Foreign Affairs*, 6 May 2020, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2020-05-06/coming-post-covid-anarchy>

Focus Questions: is the era of the Western-led world order dead; what will be the institutional and normative shape of what follows; what will be China’s role?